

**USAID Quarterly Report  
Mozambique  
Political Party Training and Institutional Development  
Grant No: 656-A-00-98-00065-00  
October 1 to December 31, 2000**

Under the terms of the grant signed in September 30, 1998, between USAID/Mozambique and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), NDI agreed to undertake a program to build the institutional capacity of political parties in Mozambique (PARTIDO). This report covers NDI program activities during the period October 1 through December 31, 2000.

## **I. Summary**

During this quarter NDI conducted training seminars, intra-party policy dialogues, workshops and consultations with leaders of the parties and civic movements to support specific institutional and organizational development. The training focused on techniques for strengthening community organizing at the grassroots, building constituency relations, computer technology for membership tracking and leadership development. In addition, a mid-term assessment of the Political Party Training and Institutional Development (PARTIDO) program was undertaken. This included a baseline assessment of the organizational development of the two major political parties and three civic movements. Based on that assessment, a workplan that tailors program approaches and activities for the next year was developed. Ivan Doherty, NDI's Director of Political Party Programs, traveled to Mozambique to participate in the assessment. NDI undertook a series of consultations with the leadership of each of the major parties. Consultations were held at the national and provincial level. The report on the program assessment is attached. The political context included in this report focuses on the recent political tensions and the operation of the second sitting of the Parliament. While not the main focus, the PARTIDO program includes legislative assistance for parties in parliament.

## **II. Political Background**

### *Political Tension*

Since the beginning of October political tension between the two major parties has mounted. Civil society has been in a state of shock as a result of the recent political clashes that have left over 226 people dead, the majority being opposition supporters, as well as the assassination of a prominent investigative journalist. There is increasing public skepticism of the intentions of politicians and of the government's credibility in maintaining a stable political environment. The political tension is further fueled by RENAMO-EU's continued dispute of the December 1999 election results.

On November 9, RENAMO-EU organized anti-government demonstrations to protest both what it claims were abuses by the ruling FRELIMO and the absence of democracy. Violent clashes broke out between the police and the RENAMO demonstrators; 41 people were killed, including policemen; and more than 100 people were detained in Montepuez. Subsequently 85 detainees died in police custody due to asphyxiation and police brutality. The government's slow response to the crisis has led to the creation of several independent commissions of inquiry, mainly from civil society organizations. The Mozambique Human Rights league and the Catholic Bishops have been very vocal in condemning the police actions and the government's rush to prosecute demonstrators, which contrasts with the normal "snail's pace" of the Mozambican courts, even in grave cases. Commenting on the death of the detainees, President Chissano said that the government was seriously considering reforms to the country's justice system and greater oversight of the police.

A prominent Mozambican investigative journalist, Carlos Cardoso, was brutally assassinated, and another journalist attacked, his tongue savagely cut. Cardoso's murder sent shock waves through the Mozambican media and political circles. Amongst his many attributes, Cardoso was hailed as the father of press freedom in Mozambique. He was a leader and vocal proponent of anti-corruption initiatives and was openly critical of government's human rights record. The Journalist Association has interpreted these brutal attacks on outspoken journalists as acts of intimidation and as messages of intolerance for free expression that taint Mozambique's good reputation in Africa as a country that enjoys free expression and freedom of press. In his latest investigative work, Cardoso had shown that transparency and accountability were not simply ethical values but were also the most efficient way of governing. Among the corruption cases involving prominent government figures and politicians that Cardoso had been investigating and publicizing in the last months of his life was the largest banking fraud in the history of Mozambique, which involved over \$14 million. Although names of the main suspects were known and repeatedly published, there has been no prosecution or trial.

Cardoso was one of the key people that NDI held consultations with at the formative time of the PARTIDO program. He was also one of the key resource persons for the Angola Study Mission that came to Mozambique in April to investigate Mozambique's experience on Constitutional Reform. In 1990, he was among a core group of journalists campaigning for the inclusion of a specific commitment to press freedom in the new Mozambique Constitution. Cardoso was also an active member of the civic movement "Juntos Pela Cidade"- and participated in NDI's capacity-building program with the movements. NDI had recently identified his media cooperative, "Forum Metical," as one of the key groups with which NDI would work to promote and facilitate national dialogues between civil society and government.

#### *Chissano Invites Dhlakama to Discuss Country's Future*

Early in the month of October, President Chissano invited the leader of RENAMO, Afonso Dhlakama, to discuss ways of organizing a debate on the future of the country for the next 20 to 25 years, known as the Vision 20/20 project. The project would create a body that will steer the debate, which should be non-partisan and should bring together civil society and all political parties. Initially Dhlakama turned down the invitation, arguing that discussing the

long-term future of the country is not a priority issue. For Dhlakama, the priority was the December election results. Since the political upheavals, however, both have reached a consensus on the need for face-to-face dialogue but are still not in agreement on the priority agenda issues.

### *Second Parliamentary Sitting Opens With RENAMO Demonstration*

The second parliamentary sitting of the Mozambican Assembly opened with an unruly demonstration conducted by the RENAMO-EU parliamentary group. The main objective of the demonstration was to focus on the party's grievances regarding the 1999 election results. On a positive note, the RENAMO chief whip confirmed in his opening address that the group has ended its policy of boycotting the sessions. He promised that RENAMO would participate in the work of the assembly in an open and frank manner.

In addition to the assembly agenda, RENAMO submitted half a dozen bills, including bills that would establish two commissions of inquiry. The first commission would analyze the situation in the attorney general's office, widely accused of corruption and incompetence. The second commission would investigate the alleged theft of funds that were intended to rehabilitate the assembly premises. RENAMO has also proposed the creation of an ad hoc commission to review the constitution and the establishment of elected provincial assemblies.

### *Top Judiciary Body Elected*

The Mozambican parliament elected four members of the Supreme Council of the Judicial Magistrate, the independent body that is charged with supervising the country's judiciary. But the election was a formality - four names for four places - because only the majority FRELIMO proposed candidates; no names were forthcoming from the opposition, the RENAMO-Electoral Union coalition. As during the previous legislative session, FRELIMO proposed a prominent opposition jurist in its list. RENAMO told the commission that it was not proposing any names because it believed election of the judicial body should be organized on a basis of proportional representation.

The election of the judiciary body came soon after the newly appointed attorney general had publicly stated that he found the situation in his office worse than he had imagined.

### *Ad-Hoc Commission Stalled*

The ad-hoc commission set up by the Mozambican parliament to revise the country's electoral legislation has been unable to move forward because commission members belonging to the opposition coalition, the RENAMO-Electoral Union, have demanded that it also revise laws that have to do with local governance.

The commission was tasked with revising the current election legislation and had proposed revising the four laws that deal with the National Elections Commission (CNE), voter registration, the procedures for general elections, and the procedures for local elections. RENAMO, wanted to add three laws on local authority finance, on the relationship between

the state and local authorities, and on which towns enjoy municipal status. A second disagreement was on the commission's timetable: FRELIMO wanted the commission to complete its work by June 2002, thus making it possible for the full Assembly to debate and approve amended legislation in time for the municipal elections scheduled for mid-2003; RENAMO wanted a deadline of December 2002, which would make it nearly impossible to hold local elections in 2003.

### **III. Program Activities**

#### *Summary*

During this reporting period, NDI conducted three intra-party policy dialogues that focused on “Local Government and Traditional Authorities – Inter-relations” and also included training on techniques for community organizing and building constituency relations. In collaboration with a local technology firm, Proforge, training on membership tracking was provided to FRELIMO provincial trainers. Two regional training seminars for the RENAMO Women’s League were held in Nacala and Beria. NDI held extensive consultations with political party leadership at the national and provincial level in order to conduct the mid-term assessment and develop the annual work-plan (Attachments I and II).

#### *RENAMO: Training for the Women’s League*

Two regional training seminars for the RENAMO Women’s League were held this quarter: in Nacala for the northern region September 27 to 29 and in Beira for the central region October 1 to 3. The 40 women at the Nacala seminar represented participants from the provinces of Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Nampula, and the 50 women at Beria represented the provinces of Tete, Manica, Zambezia and Sofala.

The training focused on the benefits of affirmative action in the internal operations of a political party and the need for women to serve in political parties as leaders, as candidates, as activists, and as members of government. Training focused also on issues such as how to recognize and cultivate leadership, the meaning of democratic leadership, how to run for office, public speaking and techniques for political action. The training further provided practical information and tools for effective leadership and community organizing.

As with the training conducted in July for the Southern region, the autumn training was conducted by Maria Cecilia Duarte, the Brazilian political technician, and by RENAMO consultant Francisco Herrero. Different training methodologies were used in each region in order to adapt to the level of the participants. Because the further one moves from the national leadership to the provinces, the greater the challenge to finding language and training methods that simplify these new concepts, the training was reviewed and conducted in a more interactive and participatory manner that included role-plays and group exercises.

Jelissa Guilande, an assistant from the Social Sciences department of University Eduardo Mondlane joined the team of trainers. Guilande has a political science background

and focused on women's inclusion in party politics and leadership development. Her involvement in this training follows NDI's design to identify local trainers in order to build local sustainability and to provide local contextual and cultural adaptation. Based on lessons learned from the previous women's training, Guilande's involvement underscored the fact that working on women's political participation requires particular emphasis on where the barriers to their entry to politics or even political activism is, often as much culture-based as gender-based. Guilande took the lead role in conducting the role-playing exercises and helped participants to work in groups. Guilande played a critical role at the provincial seminars, counteracting the perception that it is somewhat unseemly for women to be involved in politics. The training so far has focused on benefits to the party and not just to the league itself as a way to give a natural flow and understanding of the role and participation of women.

Because it is rare that these women come together in such a forum, space was created at the end of each seminar for the women to meet and discuss their internal league and party issues. Throughout the four regional training seminars conducted so far, the National Leader of the League, Lucia Alfate, has been present; this in itself has provided motivation and encouragement for the participants.

The participants reported that all the materials and manuals distributed were valuable and helped them to share information with their colleagues.

#### *FRELIMO: Membership Tracking Technology*

NDI organized training for 15 FRELIMO provincial trainers, which took place from October 26 to November 5. (An initial group of 15 national party agents had been trained successfully in August.) In collaboration with Proforge, NDI conducted training for FRELIMO provincial agents in membership tracking technology. NDI's technology assistance will enable national and provincial party organs to construct a membership database to include information on each member and identify talents needed to rebuild the organization at all levels. This training capacity is largely focused on the organizational aspects of party development and institutionalization.

The training took place over a 20-day period for four hours per day to allow the participants to conduct party consultations focusing on their provincial reporting and on activities at the central offices. In order to accommodate the needs of each participant and to take into account the availability of computers, the training was divided into two series, with each catering to 15 participants. Rigorous selection criteria were applied at the national and provincial level when selecting the individual participants, who were selected based on their positions within the party and their levels of education.

#### *Intra-Party Policy Dialogue: "Community Organizing"*

NDI organized three two-day workshops for FRELIMO with the objectives of rebuilding the party organization at the grassroots level, mobilizing and developing constituencies and providing a forum to enrich party policy positions by involving various sectors of civil society and the party's core constituency. The workshops were conducted in

Inhambane on October 28 and 29, in Gaza on November 11 and 12 and in Maputo on November 18 and 19. The workshops were structured such that a four-member panel began the informative debate, and 75 participants then joined the second part, which was structured as a training session. The workshop theme focused on the currently polemic issue of the “interrelation between local government authorities and traditional community leaders.”

The National Director of Local Government described the legislative framework that establishes the structure of local government in Mozambique. He also discussed the role of newly established local governments in Mozambique and the role of traditional leaders in local governance. The debate was not only informative but also allowed for input from the audience based on their practical experiences in the community and helped the party open and engage local branches and ordinary members in policy and party debates. Interestingly, this training allowed participants to make both critical observations about the party’s disconnect with the grassroots and demands for participation in more party debates.

The second part of the workshop, which took one and one-half days, was conducted by Antonio Simbine, head of the party training school and a local trainer from a national development training institute. The training focused on community organizing, structuring strategic relationships and coalition-building, and the 75 participants were local party leaders and activists. NDI directly worked with both the party trainer and the local organizer in providing relevant materials and manuals. In the near future NDI will provide individuals who have regional and international experience for the policy debates.

The two-pronged approach of conducting intra-party policy debates and a training session for practical institution-building skills allowed for a much better coordinated cost-sharing effort between the party and NDI. It also provided for one-on-one consultations between the local branches and their national-level leaders.

This activity was a result of the July meeting of the FRELIMO central committee, and FRELIMO’s Consensus on Governance – which focused on the party interaction with the government, parliament, municipal assemblies and civil society – established the framework of this activity. President Chissano urged party members to engage the local branches and ordinary members in all party debates.

NDI would like to see the activity extend to inter-party policy dialogues, which would serve to enrich policy formulation and to form linkages between political parties and civil society.

#### *CEDE Subgrant*

Extensive consultations have been held with the Center for the Study of Democracy and Development (CEDE) in preparation for the implementation of the national political dialogue program. In the latest discussion with the USAID Mission Director, the Democracy and Governance team and NDI, agreement has been reached to temporarily postpone the signing of the subgrant agreement until January 2001 in order to allow for time to put in place some pending programmatic and institutional aspects necessary for the execution of the program.

### *Other Activities*

As part of the ongoing effort to avoid duplication of programs, the European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) invited NDI to a two-day seminar on “Women and Politics” conducted by several Mozambican trainers. NDI’s Senior Program Officer Angela Abdula was part of the team of trainers, and she was able to bring into the seminar NDI’s experience in training women for political party participation. AWEPA’s program has a component of working with political parties. The seminar brought together leaders and women of most political parties, mainly from the extra-parliamentary party formations.

### *Civil Society Advocacy Initiative: LINK*

NDI was invited by LINK NGO forum, an umbrella group for civil society organizations in Mozambique, to participate in and contribute to an anti-violence initiative that has arisen as a result of the recent political clashes. Angela Abdula has been participating in several meetings and has contributed to developing advocacy strategies and petitioning. Abdula developed her experience in training on advocacy and how to petition during the NDI civic education program.

## **IV. Results and Accomplishments**

### **Activity:** *Women’s Leadership Training – Regional Seminars – RENAMO*

<b>Objective:</b> Political parties acquire internal democratic practices that reflect accountability, transparency and responsiveness to members.
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<b>Indicators:</b> the extent to which mechanisms are developed and enhanced for participation of women and youth, and increased number of women in candidate lists or elected positions.
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<b>Intermediate Result</b> (USAID IR 2.2.6 & 2.2.6.6) : political parties create new or enhance existing opportunities for participation and advancement of women, promoting an inclusive, representative democratization process
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<b>Results/Accomplishments:</b>
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Although it is still early in the process to assess the full scale of the impact of this training, an early result has been that the Women’s League has begun an inclusive and participatory process to revise its statutes and by-laws. The existing statutes and by-laws were not developed in a democratic manner.</li><li>• Women from the provincial branches have begun to question leaders and have demanded that the internal structures be democratically elected and involve not just women deputies but structures that are representative of women from different social strata.</li><li>• Within the party four women were recently appointed as members of the highest decision-making body, the National Council, joining the one woman previously appointed.</li></ul> |
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- Since May 2000, 200 women have participated in the training, and one-third of them have gained the ability to act as core trainers in basic organizational and leadership concepts. NDI has completed four regional training seminars for the RENAMO Women's league as set out in the workplan for year 2000.
- Two hundred party organization manuals and seventy-five party training manuals have been distributed.

**Activity:** *Technology Assistance – FRELIMO*

**Objective:** Political parties acquire organizational skills and capacities that enable them to compete and participate effectively in the political order

**Indicator:** improved administration, effective grassroots organizing and communication.

**Intermediate Result:** (USAID IR 2.2.5.2 & 2.2.5.3) parties establish functional party administration, membership development and management for long-term stability, and increased institutional capacity to identify, represent and expand their defined constituency in the electorate.

**Results/Accomplishments:**

- NDI's technology assistance has enabled the national and provincial party organs to computerize membership information, creating a membership database in order to identify talents of members that can be utilized within the party and improve membership management.
- The party now has 30 skilled core trainers in information technology, and the party training school has a full curriculum of training materials held in its database.

**Activity:** *Intra-Party Policy Dialogue – “Community Organizing” – FRELIMO*

**Objectives:** Political parties acquire organizational skills and adopt democratic practices to enable them to be responsive to their members.

**Indicators:** the extent to which the party establishes effective constituency outreach and participation in policy development.

**Intermediate results:** (USAID 2.2.3.3) increased political participation among targeted citizens and members and improved intra-party communications.

**Results/Accomplishments:**

- This activity is still in its initial stages of development, but it includes providing



organizational skills for grassroots mobilization and instilling democratic practices that reflect responsiveness to members and political participation of members.

- More than 300 grassroots party members participated in a discussion of a policy issue. One hundred fifty party officials from local branches acquired skills in community organizing.

## **V. Administration**

Ivan Doherty, NDI's Director of Political Party programs, was in Mozambique from November 4 to 12 in order to conduct an on-site review of Mozambique activities in the last two years and to assist in developing an outline for the next work plan.

Patricia Keefer traveled to Mozambique from November 10 to 12 as part of the ongoing program consultations with USAID and to participate in the de-briefing on the program assessment conducted by Ivan Doherty and Thabi Mngadi. Keefer also participated in the Council Meeting of the Socialist International, which was held in Maputo.

## **VI. Future Activities**

Refer to Attachment II, "Workplan 2001." As mentioned earlier, during the first year of the extended program a special emphasis will be placed on the first of the original PARTIDO objectives, that of adoption of internal democratic practices that reflect accountability, transparency and responsiveness to political parties' membership.

## **MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** Patricia Keefer, Julie Hughes,  
Ken Wollack, Tom Melia

**CC:** Thabi Mngadi, Joel Mills, Cathy Westley

**FROM:** Ivan Doherty

**DATE:** 3 December, 2000

**RE:** Assessment/Planning Trip to Mozambique

### **SUMMARY**

From 4-10 November, NDI conducted an assessment of its Mozambique Political Party Development Program in the past two years. Thabi Mngadi, NDI Country Director in Mozambique, and Ivan Doherty composed the team. The purpose of the assessment was to develop a work plan for the next year.

Thabi Mngadi and her colleagues have developed very impressive relationships with the parties, especially the party leaders, since the PARTIDO program began. NDI has definitely established a high level of trust and respect among the main political parties, and there is a keen desire to continue to deepen that relationship and cooperation.

The focus in the past two years on organizational development of the political parties and election readiness has produced a number of concrete results. Additionally, NDI's efforts have also produced less quantifiable, but equally important qualitative results, such as increasing leadership's understanding of the basic function of political parties and the challenges facing each of the parties.

Having said that, it is clear that each of the political parties with which NDI works is at a very different stage of development and has different technical assistance needs and priorities. It is also clear that the practice of developing a customized and tailored approach to programming for each participating party has contributed considerably to the results. Therefore, in the coming year, it is recommended that the NDI/Mozambique program continue to be targeted/tailored specifically for each of the parties. Additionally, there is a need to review the decision to work with the independent movements given the changing political landscape since the municipal elections.

## **BACKGROUND**

In 1994, Mozambique held its first multiparty elections after a successful two-year peace process. The election results, accepted by all parties, ushered in legitimate democratic governance and multiparty politics in Mozambique. The country's dramatic political progress and stability fueled strong economic growth, and it was hailed as a democratic success story. The second presidential and legislative elections were held in December 1999. The FRELIMO Party won the elections with 133 seats, followed by RENAMO-Electoral Union with 117 seats.

These were the most competitive elections Mozambique has ever experienced and one of the most competitive in the southern Africa region. President Joaquim Chissano won re-election by a small margin (less than 5%). FRELIMO retained its majority in parliament, winning 133 seats in the 250-seat assembly. The remaining 117 seats went to the opposition coalition of RENAMO-EU.

The impression of both domestic and international monitors was that the balloting was well administered. However, there were some logistical problems and irregularities, particularly during the counting process. Though the balloting was generally applauded, the results were contested by the RENAMO-EU coalition, who alleged that significant fraud occurred in the counting process. RENAMO-EU demanded a recount or new elections, and threatened the establishment of a parallel government. The government remained steadfast in its position that the elections were fair. The prolonged controversy over the election results has caused considerable tension and threatened to undermine substantial gains in the country's democratic development.

In September 30, 1998 NDI was awarded a two-year grant by USAID to strengthen the institutional capacity of political parties and independent political (civic) movements in Mozambique. NDI has been working closely with FRELIMO, RENAMO and as well four local independent civic movements.

Utilizing a wide variety of election experts and international political consultants, NDI conducted both customized party-specific and multi-party seminars, workshops and study missions. The majority of the seminars and workshops have focused on party organization, political communication, electoral campaign management and organization, political leadership, message development, research and polling, and party agent training.

Principal techniques used in implementing program activities:

- Multi-party and single party seminars and workshops
- Consultations with party headquarters
- One-on-one consultations/advisory sessions
- Training of trainers within parties
- Informal dialogue
- Study missions
- Assistance in developing regional and international linkages

## **PURPOSE OF THE ASSESSMENT MISSION**

The objectives of the five-day assessment mission were to:

- Conduct an on-site review of the program activities of NDI in the last two years in Mozambique;
- Determine how the political parties had received the NDI activities and whether these activities addressed fully the needs of the parties;
- Gather information about actual accomplishments of the political parties based on the NDI training;
- Identify information and human resources available to NDI that may be included in future programming;
- Assist in developing an outline work plan for the next two years.

## **RESULTS OF THE ASSESSMENT VISIT**

Over the course of five days, we had a chance to meet with the political party leaders or, at least, the highest officials responsible for organizational matters in both FRELIMO and RENAMO. These included:

***FRELIMO:*** Manuel Tome, Secretary General; Amelia Sumbane, International Secretary; and Antonio Simbine, Director of Training.

***RENAMO:*** Alfonso Dhlakama, President; Chico Francisco, International Secretary; Gania Mussagy, Women's League; and Rui de Sousa, Youth Leader.

We also met with provincial leaders of both parties in Beira as well as representatives of three of the four independent movements with which NDI works.

### **Key Findings**

The relationships between NDI program staff and consultants and the leaders of the parties is constructive, positive and mutually respectful. Those that NDI has been working with closely were very open about the challenges that they faced and demonstrated a lot of trust in NDI and its commitment to their political development. But, even those senior leaders who did not participate in any of the NDI workshops were familiar with the work that had been done with their party and could articulate its impact. The leadership of both parties had prepared written remarks for our meetings and these remarks were quite detailed, both in outlining past activities and describing future needs. It was clear that the leaders saw these consultations as important to the future development of their parties.

There was little criticism of the current NDI program and only expressions of praise and appreciation for what had been done so far and a plea for even more training and expert

consultations. As several party leaders articulated, NDI has given the parties a much better idea of what was required of them and how to put effective organizational structures in place. The practice of selecting international consultants to work with the parties was discussed and there is a general consensus that the practice should continue with modifications to include creating a panel of specialists with expertise in the various areas of programming rather than depending on one consultant for each party.

It is clear that both FRELIMO and RENAMO-EU have improved their electoral campaigning with better organizational skills and more issue-based campaigns. FRELIMO increased its share of support in the traditional stronghold of RENAMO — Nampula Province — and RENAMO gained votes in the traditionally FRELIMO strongholds of Niassa, Inhambane and Maputo province.

In the area of voter registration both parties declared registration free and fair despite earlier RENAMO accusation of fraud—NDI trained both party monitors and there was 100% coverage of voter registration centers.

Much useful work has been done with the independent movements since their emergence after the municipal elections. It is clear that many of the leaders have benefited immensely from the training offered by NDI, and these skills will be put to good use in the future through their continued involvement in the political process even if the movements cease to exist. For different reasons, these movements will not have the type of political influence in the future that was once expected of them.

### **Specific Findings**

***FRELIMO:*** FRELIMO said they had learned from NDI a lot about how to recruit and mobilize members and how to organize the party.

- Poll watchers, who were trained by NDI, were able to do a quick parallel vote count—100% coverage of the ballot stations.
- Using the “training of trainers” methodology the NDI training has been institutionalized. The political party training division now has a full curriculum and trainers have been sent to other countries to assist NDI.
- There are now 30 skilled database trainers who completed the NDI technology training and are overseeing the computerization of party membership records at provincial level.
- The party secretariat’s organization of national party meetings has improved.

The Secretary General and the Director of Training requested that the workshops and seminars be continued and expanded if possible. Specifically, the Secretary General requested assistance for the leadership in the area of party reform. He stated that there

were many in the leadership who favored a reform program for the party but that there were different views on what this entailed. They are interested in broadening the membership base, polling, surveying and research techniques for message development. They also agreed on the need to develop mechanisms for strengthening the links between the party leadership, party members and citizens in general.

The knowledge and understanding of political party needs shown by the leadership, and also their ability to articulate these needs, were particularly impressive. It was also clear that the leadership had given thought to where they see the party going in the next number of years and have been debating this internally.

**RENAMO:** RENAMO also spoke highly of the NDI program activity. It was clear that everyone was familiar with the NDI work and found it very useful.

- Through the NDI coalition-building training, RENAMO was successful in forming and sustaining a coalition with 10 smaller parties. This was an important step in democratic consolidation and political competition, thus improving their election strategy, which resulted in a better-organized and more competitive opposition.
- The Women's League and Youth League have begun to put in place active internal structures to broaden decision-making and introduce democratic practices in their organizations.
- There are increased numbers of women in key decision-making positions within the party. The representatives of the Women's League informed us that many women members were more comfortable with speaking out in the party as a result of the leadership development training.
- RENAMO showed improved campaign techniques and targeting. RENAMO demonstrated a new political confidence to compete in the elections (through the voting process) without seriously entertaining a boycott as they did in 1994 and 1998.
- NDI has placed several party officials from both FRELIMO and RENAMO on regional and international election observation missions in Indonesia, Nigeria, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi. An understanding and respect for international standards has begun to be inculcated in party structures. This positively addresses the issue of sustainability of democratic and transparent electoral processes long after NDI's presence in Mozambique.

The meetings with RENAMO ranged from the leader, Alfonso Dhlakama, the International Secretary and representatives of the women and youth leagues. The tone and content of these meetings were markedly different from the FRELIMO meetings as there was more of an emphasis on material assistance and on assistance in taking their message onto the international stage than on strengthening the party organization.

However, the party is very anxious that the NDI training be continued with a focus on membership development, particularly mobilizing and training women and youth in political activism and leadership development. They have also requested that NDI work with the parliamentary group to ensure more effective performance in parliament. In teasing out some of the specific needs of the party, it was agreed that the leadership could also benefit from advice on decision-making and message development.

**Independent Movements:** In the course of this review the assessment team met with the leadership of three of the four independent movements NDI has been working with – NATURMA, a small rural community about an hour from Maputo; JPC in Maputo; and GRM in Biera. All of the groups made clear that NDI offered assistance and advice at a critical time after their establishment. Almost all of the leadership of these movements are new to politics, and many found themselves in positions of power and influence after the elections. The “national forum” of movements organized by NDI was mentioned by each group as being invaluable in sharing experiences and making useful contacts outside their respective areas. NDI has promoted and improved inter-civic movement relations, bringing together the various independent political movements that have now formed a national forum. Some effects of the program include the following:

- Strengthened relations with their constituency and members; GRM produces a newsletter. All of these activities are as a direct result of NDI training.
- The legislative skills of members have improved greatly and they are much more active at meetings of the municipal assembly.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

NATURMA and GRM have organized open and democratic leadership elections, reorganized internal structures and have drafted inclusive articles of association. As a result of this review, NDI makes the following recommendations to augment the current program:

1. That a number of high-profile international political practitioners be invited to Mozambique for consultations with party leaders in an effort to create a greater understanding of internal democracy and decision-making in political parties. These visits could also be used to have some roundtable or seminar discussions with other levels of the parties that could be directly linked to our party development program.
2. That, in the coming year, the NDI/Mozambique PARTIDO program continue to be even more focused, and targeted, on the individual challenges of each party. With no prospects of elections in the foreseeable future, this is an ideal time to undertake some long-term party-building activities. In this regard, NDI has the following specific recommendations on work with each of the parties:

- A) *FRELIMO*: The leaders of FRELIMO have clearly articulated what they consider the areas of greatest need and outlined a program of work that fits comfortably into the NDI scope of program activity. These include training of trainers in the provinces with particular emphasis on community organizing, civic education and political communications. They also wish to develop a public opinion research capacity.

In addition, it is a strong recommendation that NDI would facilitate a round table or forum for the central leadership on the topic of political party renewal and reform. A number of suitable international practitioners with experience in this area should be identified and invited to attend and offer advice and assistance. Based on conversations with the Secretary General, this is an initiative that would be welcomed by the leadership.

- B) *RENAMO*: This party is at a very different stage of development, and much hand- holding will be required to attempt to change the mindset of the leadership and have them focus more on organizational development and future electoral contests. Some important areas of programming mentioned included membership recruitment and mobilization and more streamlined decision-making. Greater women's and youth participation in the party is also a priority. There is also a clear lack of communication between the central leadership and the party regionally.

Given the current crisis within the leadership in RENAMO and the obvious top-down approach to decision-making and policy formulation, a suitable senior political leader from the Christian Democrat family of parties should be invited to Maputo for consultations. There is a willingness to engage in this type of exercise and it could be expanded to have Dhlakama attend a meeting of either the Latin American or European regional meeting of Heads of Government and Party Leaders from the Christian Democrat International if progress is being made. In order for the other areas of NDI programming to be affective there is an urgent need to engage the leadership in opening up the decision-making processes of the party. There is also a need to try and eliminate the feeling of isolation that the leadership seems to be suffering from currently.

While RENAMO showed an ability to build a coalition in advance of the election, there has been no real attempt to include the smaller parties in the decision-making process. It is important that NDI continue to work with the elected members of Parliament. There is a need for RENAMO to fully recognize the strength of the RENAMO-EU parliamentary team. A segment of NDI programming should focus on the parties in parliament and in particular in strengthening the coalition alliance.

- C) *Independent Movements*: It appears that each of the independent movements are facing an uncertain future. At least two of them will be subsumed into the



RENAMO coalition. In the case of the movement in Maputo, it would appear that the leadership does not have sufficient time to devote to the work of the movement due to other career demands. The work done by NDI has been very worthwhile, and the recipients of the training will continue to be involved in the political process, even if in some other guise or as members of the established political parties. It is very difficult to justify continuing to work with groups who can only serve to undermine the established political parties without any prospect of being an effective alternative. In light of diminishing resources and in view of the increasing question of their relevance, it is recommended that the program activities with these movements be discontinued.

- D) *CEDE Sub-grant:* In the course of the assessment mission, NDI had an opportunity to review the proposal to give a Sub-grant to CEDE for the purpose of organizing a national dialogue. I also met with representatives of CEDE. I have a number of concerns and observations.

At the outset, it is important to state that there is a critical need for the facilitation and encouragement of constructive dialogue between the political parties and a civil society. It would be preferable to have it undertaken by an indigenous group. However, I am not convinced that CEDE has the institutional capacity to undertake this project, and certainly they are not anywhere close to launching it at this stage. Equally, the initiative does not appear to have been fully fleshed out by CEDE itself or with those other organizations they expect to participate. From my discussions it appears that the scope of work envisioned is too ambitious and not practical. It is important that NDI work with the political parties in preparing for these national dialogues, but CEDE must make the initial invitation to the parties. If the initiative fails because of over reaching by CEDE, it could have a damaging effect on the trust and confidence built up between NDI and the parties and have consequences for the entire PARTIDO program.

### **Miscellaneous:**

*Consultants:* On the issue of individual consultants assigned to work with each party, I would recommend that the practice continue. However, I would suggest that a number of consultants be identified with specific expertise in the areas of the programming. While it is advisable to consult with the parties before finalizing the panel of consultants, NDI should retain the sole right to select and invite these consultants.

It is also desirable that the workplan currently being drafted has a flexibility built in to allow for the inclusion of activities arising from the special consultations with the FRELIMO and RENAMO leadership.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I would like to thank everyone on the Southern Africa team who assisted and facilitated this mission. The terms of reference and briefing material were very comprehensive and proved invaluable. I am also grateful to NDI/Mozambique for their efforts particularly in respect of the range and quality of the meetings that were organized and the assistance with gathering material for this report. NDI/Mozambique is an efficient and well-organized office and I was very impressed with the talented and dedicated national staff.

**Attachment II**  
**Political Party Training and Institutional Development**  
**NDI Work Plan (December 2000—September 2001) Mozambique**

Goal	Activity	Anticipated Result	Timing	Staff
To provide technical assistance to party leadership in the area of party reform and party renewal (operational and organizational party development and institutionalization).	<p>--Conduct two-day roundtable workshop for FRELIMO party leadership. Follow up with one-on-one consultations with party strategist for advice on action plan.</p> <p>-- Organize one-day consultation for president of RENAMO and follow up with <b>two- or three-day</b> roundtable workshop for party leadership.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Political parties have institutional structures which reflect internal democratic procedures, that are judged to be transparent, inclusive and responsiveness to core constituents.</li> <li>2. Political Parties have established functioning administrative structures that advance institutional stability in the long term</li> </ol> <p>(USAID IR 2.2.5)</p>	January or early February	International political practitioners TBA
To increase institutional capacity of the parties in parliament to perform effectively in democratic governance.	<p>Conduct 2 workshops with RENAMO-EU parliamentarians: "The role of opposition in democratic governance." Training topics to include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coalition-building and inter-relations;</li> <li>• Creating effective legislative caucuses and committees;</li> <li>• Communications – caucus, headquarters, party members and the electorate;</li> <li>• Decision-making within caucus;</li> <li>• Party discipline and role of whip; and</li> <li>• Constituent relations</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Improved relationships and communication within the RENAMO coalition</li> <li>2. Coalition engages and promotes informed debates within the party</li> <li>3. Coalition participates in constructive political dialogue</li> <li>4. Effective and well organized caucus</li> </ol> <p>(USAID 2.2.5)</p>	February <b>TO</b> May	NDI to organize resource persons in-country and from the region, <b>including</b> opposition parliamentarians.

To strengthen participation of party members in policy-making and build relationships with interest groups, political parties and civil society.	<p>Conduct three policy <b>debates dialogues</b> through roundtable discussions. <b>One-day seminars- a FRELIMO initiative but to include politicians, academia and civil society for the following topics:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political Management in a multi-party democracy;</li> <li>• Political Parties and Civil society: “the question of National Unity”; and</li> <li>• Decentralization: the role of the government and traditional authorities</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Strengthened links between party leaders and their core constituents</li> <li>2. Increased political participation among targeted citizens and members</li> <li>3. Improved intra- party communication and inclusiveness in policy formulation</li> </ol> <p>(USAID IR 2.2.3)</p>	February, April <b>and</b> May	Thabi to identify resource persons
To increase the capacity of political parties to broaden their base and build viable democratic institutions.	Conduct three regional training seminars on community organizing and political communications, membership recruitment and membership management, and use of polling and research. Two-day training seminars utilizing the training of trainers methodology.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Increased institutional capacity of each political party to identify, represent and expand its constituency in the electorate</li> <li>2. Party growth-membership</li> <li>3. Improved communication and well developed messages</li> </ol> <p>(USAID IR 2.2.5.3)</p>	March, May <b>and</b> June	Herrero and other like-minded political experts
To increase capacity for women’s participation in the political order.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Conduct three-day national seminar with leadership from the Women’s League</li> <li>2. Conduct three regional seminars at provincial level for the Women’s League</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Increased political activism—women</li> <li>2. Political parties are supportive of the participation of women</li> <li>3. Increased number of women candidates and women in key decision-making positions within the party.</li> </ol> <p>(USAID IR 2.2.6)</p>	March, May, June <b>and</b> July	Thabi, Angela and other resource persons to be identified from other programs in the region

Goal	Activity	Anticipated Result	Timing	Staff
To increase capacity for youth participation in the political order and develop leadership for the future prospects of democracy.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Conduct three-day seminar at national level with the leadership from the party youth movement; and</li> <li>2. Conduct three regional seminars at provincial level for the youth movement.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Increased participation and inclusion of youth ( candidates and activists)and opening leadership of party to new ideas</li> <li>2. Youth galvanize the parties' outreach to the electorate</li> </ol> (USAID IR 2.2.6)	March, May, June and July	Thabi and Angel and other resource person

The workplan has been made flexible to allow modification which will arise from the outcomes of the first activity (Party Reform).

Throughout this period, NDI will promote and facilitate the participation of political party leaders and officials in ongoing and relevant regional and international activities such as the political party assessment missions and conferences.

At the end of July USAID and NDI will conduct an assessment of the program, which will inform the preparation of the work-plan for year two extension.